2: Schaden--138 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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reading of several sources concerning the Tupinambá, it is possible that they, too, had the same idea of bilinear descent. I recall as significant in this respect a passage by Jean Fonteneau (known as Alphonse de Saintonge), according to which passage the daughters of the captives, considered as like the mother in nature, were not subjected to ritual execution, while the boys had to die on the same day on which the father was killed. Apud Métraux, 1928 b, p. 137. It is true that Gandavo (1924, p. 52) in turn refers to the anthropophagic consumption of children of both sexes.

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Poýdju's eldest son had died. Later the other two also died. Poýdjú became very sad and almost mad. He walked in the forest alone at night, without knowing what to do. One night in a dream he heard someone say: "No, do not cry any more, for he is bringing the two to you again, both of the two." It was Poýdjú's deceased father who was bringing them, and the dead brother, Avákaudjú (Nimuendajú's adoptive father), who was talking. He spoke further: "Open the door wide so he may come in." In the dream Poýdjú opened the door to receive the two. His father handed them over. Poýdjú took them, and his father spoke: "Give them to your wife." The wife answered (in the dream): "I could take them, but I cannot bring them up, for I have no milk." And she did not take them. "And here I was imagining in the dream what to do with these two. And I began to cry and to pray. This woke me up. I prayed there until dawn. In the morning of this same day I told the dream to my old woman and, in that, to the stepdaughter. Then the latter said: 'Oh, you've dreamed this? Then I shall rear them!' And she took her breasts and said: 'If you give them to me, I shall give one breast to one, and the other to the other one.'"

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842 After some time she became pregnant. And twins were born.
159 They are Cândido Rondon and Nicolau Marcolino. They are
787 now three years old. "Since then I have believed what the ñanderú said. Before I did not pray. I did not 'abuse' it, but sometimes I doubted. Now I do not doubt any more." Before this Poýdjú, so he says, had no prayer, that is, he had not received in a dream individual inspiration in this sense. He says that he grew old without a prayer. Later he received two more prayers. When I met him, he had three. Some people, as we shall see, have more prayers. Poýdjú's wife, called Takuáporã, [775] has four. On the occasion of my visits, Poýdjú's eldest son had not yet been reborn, but he had already sent a prayer (the third one) to his father in a dream. The other prayer (the second one) was sent by the brother, Avákaudjú. The latter had not yet been reborn either.

77 One might suspect the existence of a contradiction in the
787 informant's report: saying first that the children are sent by
842 Ñanderú and Ñanderykeý, then deceased persons are referred to as bearers of "souls," respectively "prayers." But it is that the deities do not always appear personally in the dream; sometimes they send the dead to bring the prayers to those who are grieved here on earth. And another important fact is to be noted in Poýdjú's explanations: there is, in a certain sense, a mystical identification between the souls /113/ sent to earth in order to be (re)incarnated and the prayers, porahêi, which the individual receives as gifts from the supernatural world and which he uses, in any situation, in order to get in contact with the deities and have religious consolation.

775 The doctrine of conception and reincarnation taught by
224 Fernando Tapari, religious chief of the Ñandéva village of
842 Jacareí, is summarized as follows: Ñandedjára ("Our Lord") can
[756] send to the parents a child that has not yet lived in this world.
[622] It is on the occasion of the birth that the soul, ñeẽ ("speech"), is conferred on him. In case of reincarnation, it is always the
[833] spirit of a dead child that is reborn by the same mother, the conception taking place either at the time of death or later, without need of sexual relations.

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782 869 756 Prayers that are sung at collective ceremonies may be passed on by instruction. A ñanderú is created both by inspiration and by instruction: besides receiving so many prayers by the direct route, it is a good idea for him to take a course with a specialist. At Dourados Vicente Jerônimo (who was not a paí and did not even have an "altar" near his house), seized by a mystical crisis that made him forget everything else, would gather together some of his neighbors every day and pray with them -- "instructing them," in the words of Marçal. He would appear with his "pupils," praying, at the oká (dancing ground) of Paí Tomás and next to the house of the curer Pascoal. At Amambai, Paí José taught his nephew, who called himself a very devoted pupil: "Where this uncle of mine goes, I go too."

756 785 [184] At least among the Kayová and Ñandéva the acquisition of the qualities of a religious leader also requires some continence in sexual life. Any Guaraní can become one who prays -- the ñanderú Fernando of Pôrto Lindo told me -- as long as he does not marry and is reserved: it is necessary, he explained, to have no ambitions concerning women. The demand for chastity refers to the apprenticeship phase, the period during which the supernatural revelations and curative powers are expected. The same holds for women who wish to become curers (ñandetsý, "our mother"): [869] [868] they start to learn /125/ from the time they are children and they marry only after they have the knowledge and the abilities required for the exercise of the functions for which they are destined. Old Fernando told me: Ñanderú does not readily 756 give revelations to the new generation, which marries early. He 159 himself, Fernando, who took pride in having studied with a great [582] master, claims to have postponed marriage until old age, in order to be able to become ñanderú.

He himself had a fervent disciple, Hilário, who, married, claimed, however, to live in the matrimony of Joseph. Having [783] been brought up in Paraguay, among Paraguayans with little religious life, Hilário was subjected by Fernando to "purification ceremonies" (analogous to the Christian confession!), in order to take away everything reproachable in him, particularly the ideas

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756 159 that he might have learned among the civilized. The candidate became religious and went on to devote himself to the practice of the porahéi. -- It is interesting to note that the fact that a sort of "conversion" was necessary clearly shows that there is consciousness of the conflict of ideals of life.

782 184 There are prayers for everything. The Ñandéva have them in order to get rain and in order to make the sun appear. The Kayová also have prayers against rain, against dryness, against the storm, to cure snakebite and any sickness, to win women and other things too. They are prayers which any person may use at an opportune time, using mbaraká and kurusú. The cycle of prayers referring to the maize is especially highly developed among the Kayová: when the plants are ready to bear, a phase when there is the danger of their being attacked by the "besouro" /horn beetle, May bug/, which eats the roots; when the maize leaves become yellow (smut?); when one wants to speed up the ripening (a prayer dangerous for men, who should not go into a clearing "blessed" with it, as they might die); and so on. -- The texts of these collective prayers are in archaic language, quite different from the present one, but understandable to the knowledgeable ones (15).

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15. /From pp. 151-152 of the original source./ The same is true, by the way, about the chicha songs (guahú and guahúvaí). In the guahúvaí text there is sung, for example, Takurú pytãva ñesyrũ: in modern Kayová one would say, "Takurú pytãva rysýi," which means: red ants /Port. cupins, tree-destroying ants/ ranged in a line.

782 126 828 A boy about eight years old, the son of my friend Vicente Jerõnimo, Kayová of Dourados, dictated to me one of the prayers of his father, that is to say, one of those that his father knew and customarily sang. Since the Guaraní always respects another's personality, including that of children, Vicente did not interfere in the matter, although he became apprehensive upon seeing "his prayers" being put on paper. Nevertheless I was able to persuade him

2: Schaden--170 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

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753 121 [182] [179] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bento, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

753 159 121 [154] [177]

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
[179] spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
[155] not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

175 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with counter-
[184] sorcery. This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly
753 that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resignation. Capitão Bento's daughter was ill; her father took her to
761 Dr. Militão, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who pre-
753 scribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child
159 died. "It is because she had to die," was Bento's simple explanation. And Bento's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandedjára himself carries the person through. When it is

2: Schaden--172 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 S344 Guarani S344

761 /131 cont./
753 not the will of God, neither doctor nor curer can turn it
•159 around." /132/ Highly illuminating words, as they make it
75 very clear that what predominates is not the magical attitude, but the religious one. In the treatment of the sick, the efficiency of the magical and medicinal resources is only conditional -- which divests magic of one of its essential characteristics, namely, natural causality. When the late doctor-sorcerer Arnaldo --I was told -- saw that a sick child "had a cure," he gave it a remedy and it became healthy. But when he saw that nothing could be done, he said so at once: he ordered herb tea to be prepared, but he did not have any hope. Fiat voluntas tua /Thy will be done/.

756 It is seen, therefore, that the power of the doctor-sorcerer
761 is subject to considerable limitation, stemming from divine will. Were it not for this, he himself would not get sick and would not die. On the contrary, the Ñandéva says, his supernatural faculties can easily become his misfortune, because to be the bearer of extraordinary magical powers and knowledge is a dangerous state. If the doctor-sorcerer to whom the auxiliary spirit communicated the prayer or magico-medicinal song does not live in accordance with the prescriptions tied to them, he himself becomes the cause of his death. It happens that he dies only two or three months after the descent of the protector spirit, "because the religion of the Indians is very strong and also very fine," according to the words of João Samuel. This is why Arnaldo died. And, if I rightly understood the explanations of old Pedro Pires, there is even a transitory death of the doctor-sorcerer who is not yet capable of using his powers and his knowledge properly and of living according to the demands stemming from them. "The one who prays has to die when he errs." But he comes back to life again, which happens in a [821] thunderstorm. -- Would that not be temporary death, a constant theme of the lunar mythology of the whole world, a death that in the tribal myths also often strikes the less clever one of the twins? However that may be, the possibility of the individual

2: Schaden--183 B-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sheet Guarani Sheet

/140 cont./

the woman, the children, and other elements of the community with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínia, a Pernambucan who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the father of half a dozen mestiço children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that influxate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in their significance and in their functions. Time and again the children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbyá of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambi and Dourados, whose the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunderstandings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of cooperative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo, capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal, died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré, which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

2: Schaden--184 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1982 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/140 cont./

771 772 178 [159] Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possibility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years earlier had disputed with him the patent of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 776 177 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations. 77 177 [441] [273] Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in religious articles, for them. [443] (Images of saints are not "bought" or "sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the houseowner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

Fr Schaden--185 I-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 Sl44 Guarani Sl44

/141 cont./

776 796 789 782 159 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise" is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his, the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 533 776 771 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player, as his father was; and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da. Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house; he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 778 177 159 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individuals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more or less recent times. In Poýdjú's house there was an image of São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djeatsaá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Poýdjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djeatsaá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

2: Schaden--190 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahdi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí pieta, the pierc-
177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators:
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibition-
ism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for com-
pensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules
their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with
the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority
that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which
the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrina-
tions and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
• 159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a restless Nandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived
as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and
counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His
ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the
one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other
hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová re-
ligion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connec-
tion between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of
the region and other elements of the civilized world.

2: Schaden--191 E-4, 5 (1946-1954) 1962 Sh44 Guarani Sh44

/146 cont./

[771] [159] [829] [782] [755] [757] [776] [778] I shall sum up here some of Pascoal's explanations /in the following passage the words in quotation marks are translated from Spanish/: I am a curer and pray a little. I take away the "spirit" of the sickness with a mbaraká prayer, just as a civilized doctor takes it away by cutting the belly. But I also give herb tea. I have my "angel" that teaches me the things of the future when I pray. The djeatsaá is my protection; I only have to put it on and nothing will happen to me. In the prayer I use the mbaraká and the djeatsaá; I do not use the cross, "because I do not need it." I do not act like the Kayová, who also pray during the day; I only pray at night. My prayers do not have any words; they do not speak of Ñandedjára, Kurusú, etc.; I simply sing. I cannot pray with the Kayová, for I cannot combine my voice with theirs; they pray "higher" (with a stronger voice). -- And, changing the subject, in response to questions that I put to him: [844] [608] The umbilical cord of the children is cut with scissors or with takuárembó. It is done by the female midwife or male midwife, a relative or not, who then becomes compadre or comadre: "It is a great bond for the Kayová." [553] [787] [851] The one who gives the name is the "sabedor" /the one who knows/, to whom the stars revealed it. He makes cedar-bark water, dips his hand in the water, sprinkles the child in the shape of a cross, and then "tells the name." The baptism is done in the house of the "sabedor," in the presence of the father and mother, "after forty days," while the godfather props up the child. It must be a "fine" ceremony, done with great care, on a date set long beforehand, "in order to secure the spirit, its little angel." [237] [782] [851] [553] The "sabedor" makes a large candle of yorá (swarm of wild bees), which is lighted for four consecutive nights in which there is praying for the child; on the last of the four days is the baptism, during which the "sabedor" finds the name. Paí Kuará is the one who sends the "little angel," the spirit, of the child. -- When someone dies, the "sabedor" prays, "in [775] order to save the soul," which goes to Hyapúguasú. If he does not pray for the soul, it "becomes lost, stays in the dark."

2: Schaden--192 E-4,5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani S344

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
• 159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual be-
[574] havior learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot partici-
pate in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship estab-
[608] lished outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective cere-
monies, Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and re-
ligious equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyraídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
179 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with dis-
178 integrative forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation
is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds
in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct
phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are
accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a